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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews some of the issues and trends involved in the provision of child care services for preschool children. The first section of the paper presents an historical overview of the philosophical, academic, and social trends which influenced the development of preschool programs. The current supply and demand for preschool services is reviewed, and numerical data are presented to illustrate the types of services presently available and the characteristics of the families currently being served. The role of the federal government in the development and provision of preschool services is described. This section reviews past and current legislation which has influenced day care and other types of preschool programs and discusses some of the social trends which have influenced the extent of the government's role in this area. The next section of the paper describes the role of the private sector in the provision of preschool services, reviewing the role of family and relatives, family day care, private programs, and industry in providing preschool programs. The final section of the paper discusses some of the issues involved in the future development of preschool programs. The issues discussed include funding, coordination of services, and questions of delivery systems and program quality. This section also includes suggestions for the development and delivery of quality preschool programs. (BD)

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PRESCHOOL SUPPLY AND DEMAND IN THE UNITED STATES

Karla Shepard Goldman

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Princeton, New Jersey
March 1975

Preschool Supply and Demand in the United States

A social definition of age is apparent in the allocation of roles and statuses. Most broadly this is conceived as the dichotomy of childhood and adulthood. Within each there are fluid subdivisions based upon current socio-cultural definitions and requirements. At present, American society defines those below age five or six as preschoolers. The name denotes the anticipation of school as their most characteristic feature. But this has not always been the case.

Although Plato advocated that children be taken from their homes at an early age and placed in the care of specialized individuals trained in the care and education of the young,[1] this has never been a dominant value in Western civilization. Anthropological studies have shown that when families lived communally, as in hunting and gathering societies, their children were raised communally within their common home. Before the Industrial Revolution, work centered around the home as did the activities of child rearing. But since the Industrial Revolution when work and home were separated a new definition of the place and role of the child has emerged. The movement for specialized services for young children, a very recent phenomenon, can be traced back to European influences of the Enlightenment, of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel.

Rousseau, probably the first child-centered educationist, contended in Émile that the ideal teaching situation is one teacher and one child, though he did counsel readers to return to Plato for thoughts on mass education and preparation for life.[2] The laissez-faire pedagogy first advanced in Émile described the child-centered school with a curriculum tailored to a larger view of the nature, growth, and development of children. Born neutral, man was infinitely perfectable, according to the Enlightenment thinkers.

This new philosophy was further developed and practiced by the Swiss reformer, Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827), who viewed education as a gentle, enjoyable process by which children could develop naturally under the influence of a good, sound and healthy environment. In addition, an important concept for these philosophers was sense realism, assuming that the mind is blank at birth and that the individual continually absorbs through sense experience.

As the Enlightenment crossed the Atlantic, so did these philosophies of education. In 1806 a disciple of Pestalozzi, John Neef, came to the United States and two years later published a treatise on educational method, advancing an interpretation of Pestalozzi's ideas. Conceiving of education as the gradual unfolding of individual potential, Neef proposed a rich variety of experiences for the elementary school child. Everything was to revolve around materials of the child's everyday life, and books would be introduced only after the basic groundwork had been laid.[3]

It is said that a consideration of Pestalozzi's basic ideas is vital to an understanding of post-Civil War educational thought in America.[4] Not only was he a theorist, but he also set up schools and teacher training centers, thus gaining much credibility in the eyes of educators. Looking upon the child as a unity made up of separate faculties of moral, physical, and intellectual powers, he insisted that the natural instincts of the child should provide the motives for learning rather than external prodding and compulsion. Influenced by the sense realists, he believed that sense impression was the absolute foundation of knowledge. Unlike the sense realists, though, he did not view the young mind as a passive receptor of sense impression. Rather, it was active, perceiving, discriminating, analyzing, and selecting. He continually emphasized the child as constantly engaged in the process of experiencing. In the pursuit of sense realism, plants, animals, tools, drawing, modeling, music and geography were important in Pestalozzi's program for developing perceptive faculties.

As Pestalozzi is known for his method, Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) was known for his view of the child. He was influenced by Pestalozzi, Rousseau, and the German idealism of his day. Through education, he believed the child's spirit could become linked with the spiritual unity of the Absolute since the child was an agency for the realization of God's will in human nature.

Froebel was the first to formulate a comprehensive theory of preschool education with a detailed method of implementing it. His work is still the basis for much preschool planning today. Similar to Pestalozzi, he stressed the importance of training through the senses and was very opposed to the notion of the child as subservient and subordinate. Self-control, not servile obedience, was his goal.[5]

Froebel is best known for establishing the Kindergarten, a garden where children grow. Here he thought the educative process should begin with the small child of three or four. Assuming that play was the characteristic method of growth and learning for the young, he calls it the highest phase of child development. An important effect of this new respect for the child, for his individuality, and for the dynamic and active qualities of his nature, was the reduction of strictness and formality in the school setting. Activity itself--manipulation of objects, freedom of exploration, and expression--replaced the constant attention to intellectual pursuit. A consequence of this new emphasis on activity was a realization of the importance of good social relationships as a desirable outcome of school life.[6]

The climate that spawned these ideas also saw the rise of industrialization which appears to have had a direct influence on the growth of preschool facilities in Europe. In 1789, Count Oberlin, a Lutheran pastor in Alsace, established a center for the children of mothers who worked in agriculture. In the 1820's and

1830's, Paris saw the growth of "salles d'asiles." Although these had limited activities of an educational nature they served 3,600 children in 1839. Around the same time, Germany too began to care for and protect the children of working mothers. These "kleinkinderbewahranstalten" were founded and maintained by religious societies, women's societies, and private philanthropists. And in England Robert Owen, greatly influenced by Pestalozzi, was accepting children of factory workers as young as one year, though the climate of the times was hostile.[7] Although there were many types of preschools--charity schools, schools of industry, dame schools, common day schools--they were all basically the same. These preschools were to care for children in cases where the family had difficulty doing so. Yet their different nomenclature can be traced to their divergent origins.

In the United States, however, progress was slow for the new nation. It is interesting that in the histories of American education such as Cremin,[8] Brubacher,[9] Good and Teller,[10] and Valentine,[11] there is barely a reference to day care or nursery education. For one thing, there is no mention of education (at any level) in the Constitution or the Bill of Rights. All public education is administered by state and local Boards of Education. Preschool programs are not so administered since they are for children below the age of compulsory schooling. Although most states today begin compulsory schooling at age 5 or 6* when the child enters kindergarten, some states still maintain private kindergartens which are indistinguishable from the typical nursery program. According to the Education Commission of the States there are 36 states which have adopted legislation permitting kindergarten programs; 8 states which mandate it; and 38 states which make state aid available. (Obviously these are not mutually exclusive categories.)

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*In the fall of 1972, 74% of 5-year-olds were enrolled in kindergarten; only 10% of 5-year-olds were in <u>private</u> kindergartens.

The kindergarten movement in the U. S. grew directly out of Froebel's work in the mid-19th century. After a trip to the London Exposition, Henry Barnard reported in the American Journal of Education in 1856 that Froebel's kindergarten was "by far the most original and philosophical form of infant development that the world has yet seen."[12] The support for this movement was spread by German immigrants who trained with Froebel and then came to the United States to establish kindergartens. St. Louis, in 1873, was the first to incorporate these into the public school system. By 1880, the United States Bureau of Education claimed there were 200 public kindergartens serving 9,000 children in 14 states. Within the next five years, these figures doubled, but with the financial depression of the 1890's they soon began to fold. Basically they were considered a frill, and quickly given up.[13]

At the turn of the century a new social definition of the child was emerging. Having witnessed the effects of the Industrial Revolution, such as work being separated from the home and the increase of child labor, it was now a time to protect and nurture the young. Some of the greatest influences in America came from John Dewey (1859-1952), G. Stanley Hall (1846-1924), Edward L. Thorndike (1874-1949), and Arnold Gesell (1880-1961). Given the historical context, one can see that the preschool movement was both a product and a symptom of social and cultural forces. Important influences on its growth came from industrialization, urbanization, advanced technology, poverty, the progressive education movement, and the growth of the life sciences.[14] These influences took work out of the home, moved jobs into the cities, created long working hours in poor conditions, created problems of modernization (transportation, sanitation, etc.) poor living conditions and consequently disruption in family life. Were women to work? If so, where? Who would mind the children? Were children to work? Were they to be educated? What type of education?

Out of these forces grew two separate, class-linked types of preschool programs. One was the traditional private nursery school born in the middle and upper classes for educational and psychological development of children approximately ages 3 to 5. The other, day nurseries and day care, was definitely a service for the lower classes; its antecedents were sociological more than educational and psychological. Although these were both serving the same age range, they had divergent origins and very different populations; the former was a luxury, the latter a necessity. A superficial, though systematic, difference between them has been that nurseries are only a few hours a day, while day care is typically a full day program. It is common to distinguish the two by calling the former "educational" and the latter "merely custodial," but these are actually inseparable functions.

The development of these two types of preschool programs is difficult to document completely because, never being part of the public school systems, there is very little coordinated information on them. Gesell claims that nursery schools in America began in 1914 with the initial impulse coming from Britain.[15] This acceptance was greatly influenced by Margaret MacMillan and Grace Owen who started these for the poor in London and Manchester, and specialists from their schools introduced the work at Columbia University (Teachers College) in 1920.[16] Around the same time, Gesell began the study of 2- and 3-year-olds at the Yale Psycho-Clinic; the Merrill-Palmer School began in Detroit, and the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station began studying 2- to 4-year-olds, as did the New York Bureau of Experiments (which later became The Bank Street Nursery School). One of the striking things about the nursery-age programs in the early 20th century was the effect of scientific research and concerns. Duggan said that "possibly no other movement in education is being so carefully developed under the guidance of research as is the study of very small children in the nursery school."[17]

The main sources for this research were scientific interest in early childhood resulting from new emphases in the sciences of psychology, biology, physiology, and medicine; and experimental efforts in the field of mental health and hygiene. These efforts were supported by departments of psychology and education in leading universities, by others interested in research, by parents "who have experienced increasing difficulty in providing adequately for the education of their young children under existing social conditions," and by individuals and associations interested in improving the educational status of day care.[18] These research centers have the common aim of expanding knowledge of preschool children, rich and poor. By 1936 the U. S. Office of Education reported the existence of 285 nursery schools: 77 lab (research) schools at universities, 53 philanthropic in nature, 144 private, and 11 in public schools.[19]

One of the earliest private (nonresearch) nursery schools was organized by faculty wives at the University of Chicago in 1916.

> They felt the need, which they could not fill in their homes, of the beginnings of social contact, of group play, the chance at give and take, and the supervision at times of adults, not the children's own mothers. The mothers needed too a knowledge of other children than their own and the opportunity to test the efficacy of home training when their children joined a group.[20]

This appears typical of the motivations for middle-class nursery facilities, basically to provide group experience for children and to widen the mothers' experience with children. Also common to these schools was the desire to maintain close cooperation with the home and family.

Simultaneously came the origins of day care which has typically been charitable and largely custodial in approach. While nursery schools developed under the guise of education, day care was under health and welfare. The first day care center in the United States was the Boston Infant School, dating from 1828. Its aim was to free mothers to work. In New York City, in 1854, New York Hospital

established its Nursery for the Children of Poor Women and was apparently purely custodial. Some day care was also established as a result of the Civil War for children of war widows, but it was not until the depression of the 1930's and World War II that any sizeable action was taken by the government. Under the Federal Emergency Education Program 3,000 nursery facilities serving 65,000 needy children were set up in the 1930's. Under the Works Projects Administration of the New Deal 150,000 families enrolled in a Family Life Education Program.[21] By 1939 300,000 children had been enrolled in 1500 emergency centers, most of which were housed in public school buildings. The combination of grave social conditions and the large-scale industrial employment of women during the war made this emergency service necessary; but when these acute conditions disappeared, so did most of the day care facilities. Thus in 1948 only about 10% of all U. S. cities were operating nursery schools or child care centers.[22] This was in spite of the fact that forward-looking educators at the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy (1940) urged that this emergency pattern of child care, maternity care, and parent education remain permanently. Unfortunately fear of the public taking over the functions of the family[23] was strong and is still with us today. At that time (1940's and early 1950's) this fear was also heightened by the Cold War and the fears of communism.

Present Demand

During the 1950's and 1960's, a time of prosperity and security in the U.S., the preschool movement reappeared. Factors influencing the present-day demand include: development of suburban living, mechanization in the home, more women working outside the home, increased community help for families, educators' sensitivity to the social order and family needs. But most

importantly, the demand for day care has grown because the family cannot meet the requirements for the socialization of young children. As the knowledge of child development grows, so do the standards demanded of parents. Even in ideal conditions, mothers often feel unable to meet these. Also to be dealt with is the fact that mothers work, some for financial necessity, some for the need or desire to use skills and education, and others to escape boredom and isolation. Whatever their reasons, the mothers of 35,408,880 children work. Almost six million of these children are under 6.[24] In 1940, only one mother in 10 held a job. In 1970, for the first time, there were more women with minor children who had job (51%) than there were who did not. With more mothers working there are more children who need care, and fewer mothers to give care. Women are more aware of alternatives outside the home, many of which offer financial reward, companionship, and even social status--all of which are lacking in the role of the housewife.[25]

The structure of the family (size and spacing) also influences demand for day care. Since families are having fewer children (average 2.3), there are fewer siblings at home and mothers seek groups outside for their children so the children can get the experience of group companionship. In addition, the task of amusing a child alone all day is extremely taxing. This latter problem arises for mothers of "only" children, and where children are spaced so as to be functionally "only" children. There is also less of an opportunity to rely upon other relatives for regular child care since so many women now work, and also because relatives now live farther away from each other than they used to.

In spite of these situations which seem ripe for day care, why has it grown so slowly? The main reason is that it is a potential threat to the family. It reifies change in the traditional American family. The very idea of day care is controversial because of its related topics--the changing role of women, welfare reform, community control, etc. There is also a lack of

normative consensus on its value. It is still a prevalent feeling that mothers should be home with their children, and vice versa. Much ammunition for this position came from the research in the 1950's and early 1960's on the effects of separation, most notably by Bowlby.[26] His research had a countervailing effect, stressing the importance of the mother-child relationship on later development. Although this was excellent and important work, it has been greatly misunderstood and vulgarized. Much of this research was on long term separation as in institutions and foster care, and the conclusions are not directly transferable to a discussion of nursery and day care.

Yet in addition to conflicting values and conflicting research results, there is also a lack of government funds to supply this costly service. Is it justified to use money that could go into compulsory education for programs in noncompulsory education? The question is a complex one and must take into account many long-range social effects. As these effects begin to be documented by sociologists, psychologists, and educators, the justification--if not the necessity--for supporting programs for preschool children is being accepted.

Present Supply

The climate in the mid-1960's in the United States was ripe for liberal, progressive change. Still riding on the hopes of the Kennedy years, the Civil Rights movement, the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Coleman Report, and general prosperity, one still heard much talk about equalizing opportunities and life chances. An important form of this concern focused on the opportunities and life chances of preschool children.

As can be seen in Figure 1, in 1964 there were just under 500,000 children enrolled in all nursery programs. At the same time the number enrolled in kinder-

gartens was 2,830,000. By 1969, however, total nursery enrollment had increased by 82.6%, while total kindergarten enrollment increased by 15.8%. It should be noted that this is at a time of decreasing cohort sizes. Thus even though there are fewer nursery-age children in the cohort, a greater number of them are enrolled in nursery programs. For example, the population of 3- to 5-year-olds was 12.5 million in 1964 and decreased to 10.2 million in 1972; at the same time preprimary enrollment increased from 3.2 million to 4.2 million. Another aspect of these changes is presented in Figure 2 which details preschool enrollment by level of school and type of control. Again the most striking changes during this period were in nursery school programs: in 1964 there were 91,000 children in public nursery schools and in 1969 there were 245,000--an increase of 169.2%; in 1964 there were 380,000 children in private nursery schools and five years later this number rose to 615,000--an increase of 61.8%. Yet in spite of the large percentage increase in public nursery facilities, especially as compared with kindergarten increase, there are still 2 1/2 times as many places in private facilities as in public.

It is estimated that the capacity of licensed day care facilities alone has gone from 183,400 in 1960 to 638,000 in 1970. Roughly, this is an increase of approximately 50,000 children per year in licensed group facilities. Of all children ages 3 to 5, 37.8% are enrolled in some preschool program. Breaking this figure down for 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds separately the percentages are 8.7%, 23.1%, and 78.2% respectively. The figure for 5-year-olds is disproportionately high because here it includes kindergarten enrollment which is compulsory in many states. Currently, no state has the capacity to serve more than 6% of those eligible for public day care service. This appears as a familiar pattern in the delivery of human services: the affluent are able to purchase services.[27]

Tables 1-3 provide a comprehensive summary of all preprimary enrollment below the first grade. A preprimary program is defined here as:

> a set of organized educational experiences intended for children attending prekindergarten and kindergarten classes. Such a program may be offered by a public or nonpublic school or by some other agency. Institutions which offer essentially custodial care are not included.[28]

Although for the purposes of this paper it is the prekindergarten facilities that are most important, the comparison with the data on kindergarten provisions may be helpful.

Insert Tables 1 - 3 about here

The variables described in Table 1 give a more precise picture of who actually uses these facilities. Nonpublic prekindergarten use varies directly with level of income. Thus for those families earning less than $3,000, only 3% take advantage of nonpublic preschool programs; while of those earning $10,000 or more, 64% use them. For public preschool programs the trend is not as clear nor as extreme. Of those earning less than $3,000, 15% use public preschools; and of those earning $10,000 or more, 35% use them, but this is not a linear progression. It also must be noted that while 35% earning $10,000 or more use public facilities, 64% use private ones. Using "occupation of household head" as the criterion, a similar correlation appears.

Another variable described in Table 1 is "residence" which is basically an index of urbanization. For both public and nonpublic facilities, use is lowest in nonmetropolitan areas (22%); and highest for public facilities in central cities (44%). These figures probably reflect the rates of maternal employment also. Breakdowns by region of the country do not reveal major differences, although for public prekindergarten programs the lowest percentage of enrollees was in the Northeast (20.1%) and the highest was in the North Central

region (27.5%). For private programs the lowest percentage of enrollees was in the West (22.6%) and the highest was in the South (26.9%).

Table 2 is similar to the previous one but adds breakdowns by age and by race. The latter is very important in analyzing the supply and demand of this social service. Among all 3- to 5-year-olds enrolled in public prekindergarten programs, the percentage of blacks (7.8%) is more than twice that of whites (3.3%); whereas in the private facilities the percentage of whites (9.3%) is almost twice that of blacks (5.0%). This is probably a function of the whites being able to afford private nursery schools and the blacks taking advantage of whatever public day care is available. It can also be seen from the previous table that there is a greater number of public facilities in central cities and this is where there is a greater concentration of the poor and of blacks. Examining these age groups individually, one finds the trend more exaggerated at ages 3 and 4. The prekindergarten breakdown becomes meaningless at age 5 because the total number of enrollees is only 1.9% of the population, while 74% are now enrolled in kindergarten.

Having looked at recent data on family income, occupation, residence, and race, it is now important to place them in the context of the past decade (Table 3). Most basic, the total population of 3- to 5-year-olds has declined from 12,496,000 in 1964 to 10,166,000 in 1972. At the same time the percentage of those enrolled in preprimary groups has risen from 25.9% for whites and 23.3% for other races to 41.4% for whites and 42.9% for other races. Thus total enrollment has increased greatly for both groups and has remained very close. For those families earning less than $3,000, other races have had the same or slightly higher percentage of enrollment than whites though naturally much smaller numbers. The same holds true for the income group of $7,500 and over.

This suggests that the breakdowns of public versus private facilities and prekindergarten versus kindergarten programs are very important in finding out who is really being served and how.

The percentage of preschoolers from white collar families has increased steadily between 1964 (31.6%) and 1972 (51.9%) for whites, while for other races there has been a sporadic increase with 43.8% enrolled in 1964 and 51.5% enrolled in 1972. For children of manual/service workers, the percentage of both whites and other races has consistently increased, through the advantage favors the other races. In 1964, 22.9% of these white children were enrolled in preprimary programs compared to 24.2% of other races. In 1972, 34.6% of whites and 40.9% of other races were enrolled. Both have increased, but other races have increased more.

The breakdowns by place of residence again reveal increasing percentages over time of 3- to 5-year-olds enrolled in preprimary programs. The breakdowns by race by residence show a somewhat smaller percentage of white enrollment in central cities and a greater percentage enrollment than other races in nonmetropolitan areas. This is not surprising since nonmetropolitan areas are predominantly white and, as can be seen in Table 1, prekindergarten facilities are disproportionately nonpublic and in Table 2 that nonpublic prekindergarten facilities are disproportionately white.

To summarize these data, it is clear that the numbers and percentages of 3- to 5-year-olds enrolled in preprimary programs has increased steadily from 1964 to 1972. This is made all the more striking when compared to a decrease in the size of the population of 3- to 5-year-olds during this period. The younger the child, the less likely he was to be enrolled in a preprimary program. Other variables contributing to a child's reduced chances of enrollment

were residence in a nonmetropolitan area, a household head engaged in a farming occupation and family income of less than $3,000. It is also clear that a greater percentage of white children are enrolled in private programs and nonwhites in public programs.

From the Coleman Report, which found that a mixed socioeconomic peer group is a critical factor in improving the school performance of other low-income children, it can be inferred that the potential risk exists for these younger children also. The trends for segregated types of programs exist. Future programs can be developed to undercut or reinforce this stratification.

The Role of the Federal Government

In a survey of existing child care in the mid-1960's Ruderman states:

> ...it is one of the major conclusions of this study that one of the reasons why group care for children, on an organized basis, has had little success in this country is that the professions and agencies dealing with it have failed to bring their perceptions and formulations abreast of contemporary developments.[29]

She goes on to say that controlling agencies try to merge 19th century conceptions with 20th century needs, and suggests that in an advanced, industrial society day care should be considered a public utility in that it should be available to all who need it.

There are several major social trends which have significant bearing on the role of the federal government in day care and child development. These include:[30]

1. The rising costs of existing welfare programs

   The costs of welfare are rising and this has a particular effect on the

children of America's poor. In 1970, 14% of American children (under age 18)--10.5 million--were living in poverty conditions; about 1/2 of these received aid from welfare.[31] Both the numbers and the costs are rising. The cost of this support doubled from 1965 to 1970. In 1970 the cost was $2.1 billion and in 1973 approximately $3.7 billion. Thus with the increasing costs of welfare and an inflationary state of the economy, it is unlikely to expect the federal government to add programs that do not now exist. It is a battle to maintain the funding each year for the ones that do.

2. The concern over early childhood services

In the past decade, two things have made the public aware of the area of early childhood services. The first is the wealth of research showing the impact of the earliest years of socialization. Many researchers have become convinced that the developing child becomes less and less malleable as he grows older.[32] It appears easiest to make profound changes in a child's intelligence while that intelligence is growing most rapidly, or under age five. An excellent statement and review of this position is offered by B. S. Bloom.[33] The second development has grown logically out of the first. It is the need for serious efforts to provide compensatory education for the poor. Given the importance of the preschool years and of tackling early deficiencies before the commencement of formal schooling, Head Start began in the summer of 1965 and soon afterward became a full-year program focusing on health, nutrition, education, parent-involvement, and social/psychological services. It was hoped that these early services would reduce later social and economic problems.

3. The emphasis on family planning

The concern over the population explosion has reached the individual level. The Census Bureau reported on February 16, 1972 that for the first time in history, most young, married women plan to limit their families to fewer than three children. Recent studies have also shown that Americans want government support for population control. From 1968 to 1970, 45 states liberalized their laws or policies regarding the delivery of family planning service.[34] At present, though, only 30% of lower-class women who want and need subsidized family planning services are receiving them.[35] Thus the government will have to consider this new average family size and its implication. For instance, although smaller families means fewer children, it also means that there is the possibility that more mothers will be employed outside the home and therefore contribute to the need for more day care services.

4. The job market for women

As mentioned previously, since 1970 more mothers with minor children work in paid employment than stay home. This is a trend that all labor statistics show to be increasing. At the same time, many new welfare programs have tied the provision of day care services to the mother's employment and/or training for employment. More recently, however (1974-1975), there appears a trend of rising unemployment, thus a shrinking job market. Yet there are programs of the federal government, such as Affirmative Action, which seek to protect the employment rights of minorities and of women.

5. The movement for women's equality

Day care has been a priority for those who want to open opportunities

for women who would otherwise be tied to the home. An informal and diverse alliance of groups and organizations has formed a national movement for women's equality and they all have day care as one of their priorities. Among these groups are National Organization of Women (18,000 members), League of Women Voters (142,000 members), National Council of Negro Women (4,000,000 members) and the National Council of Jewish Women (100,000 members). Much support obviously comes from the 30 million women who work, a group which has doubled in size since World War II. In 1969 there were 4,100,000 working mothers with children under six and 7,245,000 with children over six.[36] Although these groups have created pressure to increase child care services (costs for the government), it has also been found that for increasing numbers of women, earned income makes the difference between living in poverty or not (savings for the government).[37]

Having never made a major commitment to preschool programs, the government has given only patchwork support. The following list includes some of the major federal interventions.[38]

1935 Farm Security Administration (day care for children of migratory workers)

1935 Social Security Act, Title V (Aid to families with dependent children)

1936 Works Progress Administration (day care component to supply jobs for unemployed teachers, nurses, nutritionists, cooks, janitors, etc.)

1937 Federal Housing Administration (loans to communities for day care)

1941 Lanham (Community Facilities) Act (day care facilities for up to 1.6 million children of women workers in defense industries during World War II; administered by Children's Bureau and Office of Education; less focus on education, more on custodial care; California only state

still operating day care centers started under this Act, other 2,800 centers were closed at end of World War II)

1962 Social Security Act, Title IVB (Child welfare services)

1965 Head Start (Comprehensive day care services for lower-income children)

1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Titles I and III (supplemental services for the disadvantaged)

1965 Education Professions Development Act

1967 Social Security Act, Title IVA and IVB (child welfare services, including subsidy of preschool tuition)

1967 Work Incentive Program (WIN) (day care to help mothers get training and jobs)

1967 Follow Through (extending Head Start concepts into primary grades)

1968 School Lunch Act (provided funds for food and equipment for day care to nonprofit service child centers)

1969 CEP (concentrated employment programs, including funds for day care)

1969 Parent-Child Centers (established by the Office of Child Development to increase parent involvement in day care)

1969 Planned Variation (Head Start evaluation research)

1969 Taft-Hartley Labor Management Relations Act (amended to enable unions to bargain with employers for contributions to trust funds for establishment of day care centers for preschoolers)

1970 Sesame Street (federal and private funds for a children's educational television program)

1971- Various bills, under consideration in the 91st-93rd Congresses, none passed

The most important of the 1971 bills being considered in Congress was the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971. After much debate in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, a compromise bill was agreed upon which allowed free day care and other services to children from families with incomes up to $4,320 a year. Relatively small fees would be charged for families with incomes up to $6,960 a year. Sponsors of the more liberal Senate bill argued that by limiting free day care to the very poor (mostly those on welfare) the program would become little more than a baby-sitting service. The importance of a social mix was stressed by the sponsoring Senators, but the final income restrictions seemed to mitigate against this. In early November, 1971, the final compromise bill was reported out of committee. On November 13, the following editorial appeared in the New York Times:

> First Step to Day Care
>
> The federally-aided day care plan that has emerged from Senate-House conference represents a major advance toward a realistic policy of dealing with young children of working mothers. The measure's most obvious flaw is that the cut-off point for free services, set at family incomes of $4,320, is so low that virtually only welfare recipients will be eligible. But the schedule of fees, which rise according to family earnings, is reasonable in the lower brackets.
>
> Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, the bill's architect, expresses justifiable concern lest the centers become mere baby-sitting storage places for welfare families. Such an undesirable course can be avoided by encouraging participation of the working poor and of more affluent families with working mothers.
>
> The key to a successful child development program, with competent and humane attention to social, physical, psychological and intellectual growth, must be sought in high quality of personnel and planning. As any sensitive mother knows, dealing with small children is a matter of delicate skill and the right temperament. Much harm could be done by inept people and faulty theories. The measure represents too important a first step to be allowed to fail either as a result of simplistic enthusiasm or of professional--and fiscal--neglect.

The bill, to provide comprehensive instead of custodial care, was backed by an unusually diverse coalition including labor, civil rights, education and

women's groups. The National Council of Catholic Charities, which has always stressed the importance of the family in child rearing, supported the bill. So did the National Council of Churches, the American Jewish Committee, and other major religious groups. But opposition was strong also, usually on ideological grounds. Both Representative John J. Rarick and Senator James Buckley read pages of testimony into the Congressional Record from conservative and patriotic groups who feared day care would usurp the role of parents. A statement from the American Legion said "Parents have God-given rights. Day care will destroy the family unit. It is contrary to the Christian-Judeo concepts on which this country was founded."[39] These critics overlooked the bill's provisions for parent involvement and kept raising issues of "state control" of children's minds, and child care programs as typical of Communist countries and an attempt to "Sovietize" American youth.

Further opposition came from at least three other sources: Governors were upset that the bill bypassed the states and gave funds directly to localities; private day care concerns feared this would cut into their for-profit enterprises; and the Republican administration was reluctant to adopt such an important Democratic-initiated bill.

On December 9, 1971, President Nixon overrode both houses of Congress and vetoed the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971. He said:

> ...Neither the immediate need nor the desirability of a national child development program of this character has been demonstrated... Given the limited demands upon the federal taxpayer, the expenditure of two billions of dollars in a program whose effectiveness has yet to be demonstrated cannot be justified... For the federal government to plunge headlong into supporting child development would commit the vast moral authority of the national government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing over against the family-centered approach.

Day care supporters were truly angered. Many felt that comprehensive day care legislation, no matter how compromised, had little chance of getting past President Nixon. Another bone of contention was that Nixon was opposed to breaking up the family, they felt, except when it came to the poor. The President failed to see that helping the family with its burdens of child care was helping the family stay together.

On the 20th of June, 1972, the House of Representatives and the Senate enacted the Comprehensive Head Start, Child Development and Family Services Act of 1972. This legislation provides for the creation of a network of preschool educational services for low-income children and developmental day care programs for children of working parents. Participation is purely voluntary, unlike under the WIN program and Nixon's FAP where there were various contingencies. This version was designed to meet the President's objections as detailed in his veto message of the earlier bill in December.[40]

Some of the changes were: increased state involvement; localities seeking to run their own programs must have populations of at least 25,000, not just 5,000; operational expenses for the first year were reduced by 40% to $1.2 billion; effective dates of the program have been postponed a year; the first $500 million are reserved for Head Start; the federal share will be 90% instead of 80%; and there is now a greater emphasis on part-day programs for disadvantaged children and full-day programs for children whose parents are working.

Insert Table 4 about here

At the present, as the 94th Congress begins to meet, there are several pieces of pending legislation which could effect the role of the Federal government in child care programs. Those directly effecting such programs are listed in Table 4. The most important of these is the Brademas-Mondale legislation (HR15882/S3754) but its future is uncertain, especially in light of the present economic recession and inflation. This bill provides amounts beginning with $650 million in the first year and envisions reaching $2 billion in the second. These funds would be distributed to state and local governments which would have the authority to allocate it among public and private providers, with the requirement that priority be given to disadvantaged children.

Thus, comprehensive federal commitment to early childhood services does not yet exist. According to 1970 estimates from congressional hearings, there were over 60 different federally supported programs involved with child care. Other sources have described over 200 federal programs for young children.[41] Although the exact number of programs varies depending on the definition of what one is counting, the number of programs is always high, but these are usually uncoordinated efforts in several different federal agencies. The number of programs is high, yet the number of children served isn't. The Urban Coalition has claimed that prekindergarten programs could be made available to all children in several ways:

- by adding the provision of free prekindergarten education to state and local responsibilities,
- by establishing a federal or state subsidy for families that cannot afford the full cost
- by providing free universal prekindergarten financed entirely by federal funds.

To provide these kinds of services the Urban Coalition recommends that by 1976 the federal government should be appropriating almost $3 billion to preschool education. The 1972 administration budgeted $425 million for this.

The Role of the Private Sector

With the demand still high, especially for all-day care, and little optimism for more public support, other means of handling preschool programs are being sought. The following options will be considered here, the first three because they are common now and the last two because they may be more common in the future: 1) family members and other relatives, 2) family day care, 3) private nurseries and franchises, 4) industry-related child care, and 5) community/industry coalition.

Family members and other relatives provide 85% of the care for all children.[42] Of the many children under the age of six who have full-time working mothers, 47% are cared for in their own homes, 37% are cared for in someone else's home, 7% are cared for by their own mothers while they are working, and 8% are in group care. When mothers work only part-time, a different pattern of arrangements arises: 32% are cared for at the mother's place of employment, 47% are in their own homes, 17% are in someone else's home, and 1% are in group care programs. For all of these arrangements, 53% of the caregivers of children with full-time working mothers were relatives, and 80% for those with part-time working mothers.[43] These figures indicate that almost 1/2 of all preschool children are cared for in their own home, and most of the caregivers are relatives.

It is probable though that three social factors may begin (or have begun) to lower these percentages. First, the size of the nuclear family

is decreasing. It is no longer very common for older children to take care of their younger siblings. With the average family having only two children, the siblings are usually too close in age to assume this caregiving situation. Second, families are now much more mobile and do not usually live near enough to other relatives to take advantage of their potential child care services. The third factor influencing the decrease of relatives as caregivers is the fact that most women (relatives or not) work outside the home, thus there are more women working and fewer women to care for children.

Family day care is a contractual arrangement for child care in small groups in someone's home. This is usually an informal, unlicensed situation, and is probably the oldest form of child care to supplement that given by natural parents. Since it is not usually licensed or regulated, family day care is difficult to describe. Statistically, in 1965 for instance, there were only 25 licensed day care homes listed in New York City.[44] Private individuals seem unwilling to bother with complex licensing procedures when it is relatively easy to find children to care for without initiating involvement with private or public agencies.

In a study of these informal day care arrangements, Willner[45] investigated the caregiving characteristics of 242 day care mothers and 360 natural mothers. Mothers, caregivers, and children were observed and interviewed. As could be expected, the operation of the study had some unavoidable problems. One such difficulty was locating a sample of day care mothers and getting them to consent to participate in the study. Much information was collected on demographic characteristics, child-rearing practices, and attitudes toward the homemaker role. Adult-child interactions were rated by observers,

though these were limited. Some of these findings may help describe the family day care situation. They suggest that the caregivers were older than the natural mothers, more likely to have intact families, and less well educated. Housing conditions were similar for the two groups, which is not surprising since these are neighborhood arrangements. Generally, mothers claimed they used family day care because they had no choice. Approximately 76% of the mothers were satisfied with their arrangements, although 80% said they would switch to group care (nursery or day care centers) if given the opportunity. Not one mother mentioned the educational advantages of family day care. The observers reported that a sizeable proportion of the children received no planned activities, little in the way of play materials, and little in the way of opportunity for outdoor play. It was stated that 80% of these day care homes would not have met certification requirements.

Family day care has often been touted as an excellent, existing, inexpensive solution to the nation's day care problems. The first problem is the incentive for day care mothers to register, certify, or license themselves. The second problem is the cost of doing this. How do you bring these homes up to requirement standards? If Willner's descriptions are accurate, the costs of doing this should not be underestimated for they will have to cover renovation and/or relocation, equipment, and training.

Private nurseries and franchises are not typically geared to lower SES families because they are for profit ventures, and are therefore too costly. They are also typically half-day programs, which are fine for the middle- or upper-class mother who does not work, but unacceptable for the mother who has to and therefore needs an all-day facility.

Given the prominent statistics on female employment outside the home, growing assumption that the federal government was not on the precipice of making a major investment in universal free day care, and the assumption that there was a large and growing market for child care services, day care became an American industry. "Child care, like hamburgers, fried chicken, and ice cream is now being packaged and franchised across the country."[46] Private business is aiming at the middle-class consumer with the hopes of also attracting large scale government contracts to supply preschool services. Not only does this approach ignore those who need it most--the poor--but quality is being sacrificed because it is extremely expensive and impedes the primary goal of profit-making. It is difficult to imagine our public elementary schools running at a profit, and it is clear that our private colleges are having a hard time doing so.

The commercialism of many of these franchises plays on the natural insecurities of young parents wanting "the best" for their children. For instance, one franchise advertised a relatively inexpensive day care program, but once children were enrolled mothers were pressured to take advantage of the various supplementary services in order "to insure the proper development of the child." These supplements tend to be expensive, and often involve the purchase of products the center claims the child must have. Another ploy has been the use of endorsements by famous persons, or listing them as contributing to the program when this has not actually been the case. Typical of these franchises is Kinder Care Nursery, whose physical fitness director was football player Bart Starr. Others include American Child Centers planning

200 franchises; We Sit Better, anticipating 2,000 centers; Mary Moppet anticipating 100 centers; and also the Institute for Contemporary Education, Pied Piper Schools, Town Carousel Day Schools, Green Acres Day Care Centers, Les Petites Academies, Season Franchise Center, and Universal Education Corporation. Many of these have already gone out of business. Some of these have apparently been successful in providing good child development services and making some profit, but they are quite costly. One such instance is the Singer Learning Corporation, which charges $1,995 for a full day (7 a.m. - 6 p.m.) 12-month program.

Industry-related child care is typically a service provided by a business or industry to offer care during the day for children of their employees. This type of industry involvement is still unusual, and was almost nonexistent before World War II. Five factors are usually cited to justify the operation of industry-related centers:

1. reduce turnover
2. reduce absenteeism
3. improve recruiting
4. social or community contribution
5. collective bargaining

In this context, the concern has been for employed mothers, not employed fathers.

A summary of current employer involvement is offered in a report by the Inner City Fund:[47]

> - employers currently play an insignificant role in the provision or arrangement of child care for their employees. Under the broadest possible definition, less than 120 employer-subsidized programs provide child care for approximately 4,000 employee children.

- over 95% of all employer subsidized child care is concentrated in two industries with a high percentage of female employees (textile manufacturing and hospitals)
- industry based child care programs are in a state of flux. During the course of [this] study, three out of 10 corporate based centers surveyed were terminated, and two new ones were opened. Three highly publicized demonstration centers were converted to corporate/community projects with the role of the employer reduced accordingly.
- with the exception of hospital programs, employer-subsidized programs are typically under-enrolled.
- the principal motivation behind most corporate-based child care programs appears to have been the desire to recruit additional qualified female employees. The desire to reduce turnover and absenteeism was secondary. Community responsibility was the primary motivating force behind the corporate/community programs.

Insert Table 5 about here

Data in Table 5 summarize the existing industry-related centers as of 1970. They totaled only nine, and only one was established before 1962. During World War II is the only time this situation was drastically different. At that time the federal government allocated $52 million for a two and one-half year period to support programs for children of women workers in defense industries. During this short time 600,000 children were served, 60% of whom were preschoolers.

Of the industry-related centers existing today, most serve children from two to six years of age, they are located at or near the plant; most give preference to employees' children or grandchildren, but will then permit children of nonemployees; most enroll from 40-65 children, and are open to at least cover the 40 hour work week.

The most striking question which arises from these data is: why are some of those centers underenrolled? There is no research available on this. It is possible that the fees are too high, transportation to the place of work may be too inconvenient for a mother to use with a child, or the program itself may be unacceptable. These factors must all be considered in conjunction with the availability of such an industry-related program.

Although the costs of child care service are high, there are some tax allowances and exemptions which benefit industries that offer them. The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) allows as a business expense under Section 1.162-10 amounts paid or accrued by a business for recreational, welfare, or similar benefits designed to attract employees and promote greater efficiency among employees. Where a company establishes and operates a day care or preschool program as a gratuitous benefit for children of employees, IRS permits deductions for all ordinary and necessary expenses occurred in the taxpayer's trade or business. Where businesses make contributions to organizations for the establishment and operation of such programs, Section 110 of the IRS code provides for the deductability of charitable contributions made to organizations. Public Law 91-86 amended then Labor-Management Relations Act to permit employer contributions to joint trust funds for the establishment of child care centers for dependents of employees. These funds are also tax deductable as described above.

Community/industry coalition appears to have the best potential for future development, and mutual benefits for those concerned. This has been

the fate of several preschool facilities which began as industry-related, such as the KLH Child Development in Boston: that corporation had to lay off many of its female employees at the same time as they incurred increasing center cost. Thus, both to run at capacity and serve their adjacent community, it was opened up to nonemployees. There are now other nearby institutions which buy certain numbers of "slots" for their own employees' children. One of the great advantages of this type of arrangement in terms of the education and socialization of the child is the typically mixed nature of the population served.

At the same time, the industries involved are eligible for tax benefits, and the community groups are eligible for other types of government subsidies such as those available from anti-poverty funds, welfare funds, WIN, and funds from the Office of Child Development. But there are also many nonmonetary benefits of this community/industry coalition. The manpower resources of organizational ability, imagination, training capacity and administrative skill may all be tapped. The abilities to arrange mortgages, negotiate contracts, procure materials are all available in existing business. An example of this leadership-catalyst role can be found in Benton Harbor, Michigan, where the Twin Cities Area Child Care Centers, Inc., was established as a result of a meeting of businessmen from 25 local industries, coordinated by the Whirlpool Corporation. Although Whirlpool did not put cash into the establishment of community day care, it did assign responsibility to a vice president for establishing the center, and also donated the services of several of the company's departments--research, law, personnel, real estate, insurance, printing, advertising, and public relations. Much of the equipment

and supplies were donated by business firms and individuals, and funds for land, construction, and other equipment and instructional materials come from private contributions. This first center opened in 1969 for 80 two and one-half and six year olds, and three more facilities are planned.[48]

Other possibilities for joint industry/community efforts are straight cash donations from industry to existing community groups. This was the case for Pepsico, Inc., which gave $25,000 to the Day Care Council of Westchester. Other possibilities are assisting employees in locating available community facilities (Illinois Bell Telephone Co.), or several companies may join together to contract for day care services, or the company may provide vouchers to employees for use in any existing community facility they choose.

Future Roles

The single most important problem now is the absence of effective financing. Available public funds are woefully inadequate and there is little incentive for effective private funds. Also it is important to find out what level of funding is necessary to ensure high-quality programs. This latter involves more research, particularly better cost benefit analysis.

Related to funding are problems of coordination. Federal, state, and local governments must find ways to avoid duplication of effort and expense so that more money gets to the children and not the bureaucracy. The efforts of Community Coordinated Child Care (4-C Program) through The Day Care Child Development Council of America are hopeful. Also there is a newly established (1974) National Association of State Child Development Directors which is trying to channel all child-related programs, or at least information about

them, through a central place in every state. This coordination is crucial for the intelligent and efficient use of scarce funds.

Delivery is vital because a program is meaningless if it never gets to those who need it. Implied in this network is staffing, training, monitoring, administering, and evaluating. Research and practice must be intertwined.

Through the above three processes, quality must be maintained. A broad definition of quality is difficult because it is based on one's goals. We can all probably agree on at best minimum standards of quality in the areas of health and safety, but there is increasingly less agreement when moving to the areas of social and emotional development. Broadly defined, quality child care can be defined as a safe, stimulating, environment, with a low staff-child ratio, and opportunities for the child to develop social and intellectual competence and tolerance. Standards and licensing, in addition to evaluation, must be maintained to protect children from even the best of intentions. One of the most important aspects in striving for quality child care is the elimination of class-linked facilities. Segregation by class and by race must be eliminated because the Supreme Court decision of 1954 ruled that separate can not be equal. Day care must refer to quality care during the day for children--including nursery school, day care centers, day nurseries, play groups, etc.

Boskoff has said that "the level of innovation or deviation is directly related to the perceived failure of existing practices in meeting the functional problem."[49] He goes on to say that effective motivation for innovation is more likely to come from the "producers" than from the "consumers" since the

former have greater awareness of the availability of workable alternatives. This may be true by definition because the producers produce, but other than that specific link they would appear, in this case, to maintain the status quo until pushed by the consumers who perceive the failure of existing practices. This is relevant because it brings attention to the interactive process of social change in existing in institutions and values.

Since no comprehensive, nationwide child care program now exists, the opportunity presents itself to plan policy and structure for the development of a network focused upon the attainment of multiple goals--to facilitate maximum child development, to help burdened families, to free mothers who want to work, and to provide thousands of jobs. One realistic possibility would be for each school system, or even each school, to set up its own children's center. This would be ideal for teaching older students about child development, parenthood, and also teaching. It would allow siblings greater interaction during the day, and teachers could avail themselves of this center for their own preschool children. Since it is so rare that boys in our society are exposed to any real learning about children, this would be a great step in breaking down the barriers of sex roles. It could also help in breaking down the barriers of age roles.[50] If this type of center were established for just 20 children in each of the 24,000 secondary schools and 2,200 colleges in the United States, over 500,000 preschool places would immediately be available.

This same approach could be implemented by nonprofit corporations for children of employees as a requirement for maintaining their nonprofit tax-exempt status. In this way, day care would help maintain the ties between parents and their children: they could travel to and from work together, see where and how each spends the day, and even lunch together when convenient. For fathers especially this would offer an unprecedented experience in getting to know their children. An alternative to this, where on-site facilities would be truly undesirable, could be the "adoption" of a local center, or portions of centers, for the use of employees' children. In addition, vouchers could be provided by the government, or corporations, to let parents choose the type of child care that best suits their needs. It has also been suggested that vouchers be given to pay mothers to stay home with their children.[51]

There is no single answer, because it is not a single problem. It involves questions of quality child care, socialization, education, equal opportunity, and the future. Expensive as the solutions may seem, surely this is the most important investment to be made. Children are the future.

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Table 1 --Preprimary enrollment and population of children 3 to 5 years old and percent distribution, by selected characteristics: United States, October 1972

(Numbers in thousands)

Characteristics	Number in population	Enrolled in prekindergarten			Enrolled in kindergarten		
		Total	Public	Nonpublic	Total	Public	Nonpublic
Total	10,166	1,277	396	881	2,954	2,475	478
Family income							
Under $3,000	841	85	59	26	200	185	15
$3,000-$4,999	1,229	118	73	45	292	268	24
$5,000-$7,499	1,691	134	64	70	446	396	51
$7,500-$9,999	1,797	163	39	124	490	406	84
$10,000 and over	4,030	707	139	568	1,344	1,067	277
Income not reported	578	70	22	49	181	153	28
Occupation of household head							
White collar	3,414	690	124	565	1,082	807	275
Manual/service	4,764	393	155	238	1,304	1,152	152
Farm	343	15	10	5	83	76	7
Unemployed-NILF	1,320	131	91	40	376	354	22
No household head	324	48	15	33	109	87	22
Residence							
Metropolitan, central	3,029	388	173	215	936	779	157
Metropolitan, other	3,830	612	137	475	1,172	995	177
Nonmetropolitan	3,307	277	86	191	846	702	144
Region							
Northeast	2,284	311	80	232	701	643	58
North Central	2,719	320	107	213	832	779	53
South	3,302	338	101	237	833	535	297
West	1,861	308	109	200	588	518	70
		Percent distribution					
Family income	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under $3,000	8.3	6.7	14.9	3.0	6.8	7.5	3.1
$3,000-$4,999	12.1	9.2	18.5	5.1	9.9	10.8	5.0
$5,000-$7,499	16.6	10.5	16.2	7.9	15.1	16.0	10.6
$7,500-$9,999	17.7	12.7	9.8	14.1	16.6	16.4	17.6
$10,000 and over	39.6	55.4	35.2	64.4	45.5	43.1	57.8
Income not reported	5.7	5.5	5.5	5.5	6.1	6.2	5.9
Occupation of household head	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White collar	33.6	54.0	31.4	64.1	36.6	32.6	57.5
Manual/service	46.9	30.8	39.3	27.0	44.1	46.5	31.8
Farm	3.4	1.2	2.5	.6	2.8	3.1	1.5
Unemployed-NILF	13.0	10.3	22.9	4.6	12.7	14.3	4.6
No household head	3.2	3.8	3.9	3.7	3.7	3.5	4.6
Residence	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Metropolitan, central	29.8	30.4	43.6	24.4	31.7	31.5	32.9
Metropolitan, other	37.7	47.9	34.6	53.9	39.7	40.2	37.0
Nonmetropolitan	32.5	21.7	21.8	21.7	28.6	28.3	30.1
Region	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Northeast	22.5	24.4	20.1	26.3	23.7	26.0	12.1
North Central	26.7	25.0	26.9	24.2	28.2	31.5	11.1
South	32.5	26.4	25.4	26.9	28.2	21.6	62.2
West	18.3	24.2	27.5	22.6	19.9	20.9	14.6

Source: Preprimary Enrollment: October 1972

Table 2.--Preprimary enrollment and population of children 3 to 5 years old, by level, control of program, age, and race: United States, October 1972

(Numbers in thousands)

Age and race	Number in population	Enrolled in preprimary			Enrolled in prekindergarten			Enrolled in kindergarten		
		Total	Public	Nonpublic	Total	Public	Nonpublic	Total	Public	Nonpublic
Total 3 - 5 years	10,166	4,231	2,871	1,360	1,277	396	881	2,954	2,475	478
White	8,500	3,542	2,319	1,223	1,073	279	794	2,469	2,040	429
Other races	1,666	689	552	137	204	117	87	485	436	50
Negro	1,442	619	502	117	185	113	72	434	389	45
3 years	3,441	535	150	385	507	134	373	28	17	12
White	2,900	434	88	347	421	85	337	13	3	10
Other races	541	101	63	38	85	49	36	16	14	2
Negro	486	96	62	35	81	48	33	16	14	2
4 years	3,341	1,121	532	588	706	228	478	414	304	110
White	2,813	925	398	527	594	166	429	331	232	99
Other races	528	195	134	61	112	63	49	83	72	12
Negro	469	174	124	49	97	60	38	76	65	12
5 years	3,384	2,575	2,188	387	64	33	31	2,511	2,155	356
White	2,847	2,182	1,833	349	57	28	29	2,125	1,805	320
Other races	537	393	355	38	7	5	2	386	350	36
Negro	487	349	316	33	7	5	2	342	311	31
		Enrolled as percent of population								
Total 3 - 5 years		41.6	28.2	13.4	12.6	3.9	8.7	29.1	24.3	4.7
White		41.4	27.1	14.3	12.5	3.3	9.3	28.8	23.8	5.0
Other races		42.9	34.4	8.5	12.7	7.3	5.4	30.2	27.1	3.1
Negro		43.0	34.8	8.1	12.8	7.8	5.0	30.1	27.0	3.1
3 years		15.5	4.4	11.2	14.7	3.9	10.8	.8	.5	.3
White		15.0	3.0	12.0	14.5	2.9	11.6	.4	.1	.3
Other races		18.6	11.6	7.0	15.7	9.0	6.7	2.9	2.6	.3
Negro		19.8	12.7	7.1	16.6	9.8	6.8	3.2	2.9	.4
4 years		33.5	15.9	17.6	21.1	6.8	14.3	12.4	9.1	3.3
White		32.9	14.1	18.7	21.1	5.9	15.2	11.8	8.3	3.5
Other races		37.0	25.4	11.6	21.2	11.8	9.3	15.8	13.6	2.2
Negro		37.1	26.5	10.5	20.8	12.7	8.0	16.3	13.8	2.5
5 years		76.1	64.7	11.4	1.9	1.0	.9	74.2	63.7	10.5
White		76.7	64.4	12.3	2.0	1.0	1.0	74.7	63.4	11.2
Other races		73.2	66.1	7.1	1.3	1.0	.4	71.9	65.2	6.7
Negro		71.8	64.9	6.8	1.5	1.1	.4	70.3	63.9	6.4

Source: Preprimary Enrollment: October 1972

Table 3--Historical summary of preprimary enrollment and population of children 3 to 5 years old, by family income, occupation of head of household, place of residence, and race: United States, 1964-1972

(Numbers in thousands)

Characteristic	1964			1966			1968			1970			1972		
	Population	Enrolled		Population	Enrolled		Population	Enrolled		Population	Enrolled		Population	Enrolled	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
Total 3 - 5 years old	12,496	3,187	25.5	12,485	3,674	29.4	11,905	3,928	33.0	10,949	4,104	37.5	10,166	4,231	41.6
White	10,608	2,747	25.9	10,514	3,142	29.9	9,968	3,310	33.2	9,098	3,443	37.8	8,560	3,542	41.4
Other races	1,888	440	23.3	1,970	532	27.0	1,937	618	31.9	1,851	661	35.7	1,606	689	42.9
Family income															
Less than $3,000	2,031	307	15.1	1,575	304	19.3	1,150	269	23.4	916	224	24.4	841	285	33.9
White	1,178	159	13.5	849	165	19.4	577	123	21.3	467	112	24.0	472	148	31.4
Other races	853	148	17.4	726	139	19.1	573	146	25.5	450	112	24.9	369	137	37.1
$3,000 to $4,999	2,525	499	19.8	2,281	485	21.3	1,858	480	25.8	1,312	392	29.9	1,229	410	33.4
White	1,954	348	17.8	1,727	357	20.7	1,321	304	23.0	869	226	26.0	877	274	31.2
Other races	571	151	26.4	554	128	23.1	537	176	32.8	443	166	37.5	352	136	38.8
$5,000 to $7,499	4,063	1,050	25.8	3,543	1,026	29.0	2,938	835	28.4	2,277	737	32.4	1,691	580	34.3
White	3,308	977	25.7	3,189	907	28.4	2,567	717	27.9	1,911	590	30.8	1,407	447	31.8
Other races	255	73	28.6	354	119	33.6	371	118	31.8	366	148	40.3	284	134	47.0
$7,50 and over	3,422	1,274	37.2	4,382	1,657	37.8	5,266	2,121	40.3	5,441	2,433	43.1	5,827	2,704	46.4
White	3,284	1,221	37.2	4,164	1,550	37.2	4,917	1,975	40.2	5,184	2,235	40.3	5,287	2,455	46.4
Other races	138	53	38.4	218	107	49.1	349	146	41.8	457	197	43.0	540	250	46.3
Occupation of household head															
White collar	4,110	1,321	32.1	4,292	1,568	36.5	4,123	1,700	41.2	3,807	1,791	47.0	3,414	1,772	51.9
White	3,934	1,244	31.6	4,053	1,470	36.3	3,867	1,577	40.8	3,550	1,652	46.5	3,186	1,654	51.9
Other races	176	77	43.9	239	98	41.0	256	123	48.0	257	139	53.9	229	118	51.5
Manual/service	6,146	1,420	23.1	6,224	1,660	26.7	5,686	1,682	28.7	5,231	1,678	32.1	4,764	1,697	35.6
White	5,059	1,157	22.9	5,052	1,340	26.5	4,788	1,347	28.1	4,235	1,359	32.1	3,979	1,376	34.6
Other races	1,087	263	24.2	1,172	320	27.3	1,078	335	31.1	996	319	32.0	784	321	40.9
Farm	686	86	12.5	538	74	13.8	467	101	21.6	346	82	23.6	343	98	28.7
White	526	79	15.0	426	62	14.6	380	92	24.2	294	70	23.9	307	89	29.0
Other races	160	7	4.4	112	12	10.7	87	9	10.3	51	11	22.1	36	9	25.8
Unemployed-NILF	1,116	240	21.5	1,057	233	22.0	1,153	345	29.9	1,213	415	34.2	1,320	507	38.4
White	696	153	22.0	644	150	23.3	690	208	30.1	719	245	34.1	805	286	35.6
Other races	420	87	20.7	413	83	20.1	463	137	29.6	494	169	34.3	516	221	42.8
Residence															
Metro., central	3,618	1,053	29.1	3,520	1,226	34.8	3,392	1,246	36.7	3,088	1,218	39.4	3,029	1,324	43.7
White	2,572	729	28.3	2,470	846	34.3	2,356	842	35.7	2,101	821	39.1	2,103	906	43.1
Other races	1,046	324	31.0	1,050	380	36.2	1,036	404	39.0	987	397	40.2	926	418	45.1
Metro., other	4,476	1,329	29.7	4,364	1,455	33.3	4,242	1,562	36.8	3,949	1,705	43.2	3,830	1,764	46.6
White	4,224	1,264	29.9	4,120	1,385	33.6	3,954	1,462	37.0	3,643	1,587	43.6	3,539	1,637	46.3
Other races	252	65	25.8	244	70	28.7	288	100	34.7	306	118	38.6	291	147	50.5
Nonmetropolitan	4,403	806	18.3	4,602	995	21.6	4,266	1,120	26.3	3,913	1,181	30.2	3,307	1,123	34.0
White	3,813	756	19.8	3,926	915	23.3	3,655	1,006	27.5	3,354	1,035	30.9	2,917	999	34.2
Other races	590	50	8.5	676	80	11.8	611	114	18.7	558	146	26.1	390	124	31.9

Source: Preprimary Enrollment: October 1972

Table 4

Child Development Bills at the Close of

the 93rd Congress (December 1974)

Bill	Status, Committee
HR250 To establish a comprehensive child development program in HEW (Abzug)	Pending, House Education & Labor
HR4055 To expand Head Start, child development and family services program (Reid)	Pending, House Education & Labor
HR4278 Child-Development Personnel Training Act (O. Hansen)	Pending, House Education & Labor
HR11441 To suspend Head Start fee schedule until July 1975 (Hawkins	Signed Dec. 28, 1974 (PL93-202)
S2258 To establish a trust fund for children's programs (Ribicoff)	Pending, Senate Finance Committee
HR15882 To provide for day care and other services for children and their families (Brademas)	Pending, House Education Committee
S3754 Similar to HR15882 (Mondale)	Pending, Senate Public Welfare Committee

Table 5

COMPANIES OPERATING

Company and location	Number of women employees	Date center established	Facility	Eligible participants	Ages of children	Capacity
Avco Economic Systems Corp., Roxbury Printing and Publishing Div., Dorchester, Mass.	25-30. (Total employees, 115.)	June 24, 1969	Plant's second floor (plant machinery in basement and on first floor). T-shaped room, partitioned into four classrooms. Floor space is about 2,500 square feet.	Children of employees; children of nonemployees within Roxbury-Dorchester community. Nonemployees' children predominate; 21 percent are from families receiving public assistance.	3 mos.-6 yrs.	65 children
Curlee Clothing Co., Mayfield, Ky.	560. (Total employees, 625.)	About 1935	Two-story house adjacent to plant.	Children of employees.	2-6 yrs. (Until 1965, age limit was 12 yrs.)	45 children
KLH Research & Development Corp., Cambridge, Mass.	800. (Layoffs have reduced number.)	July 22, 1968	Renovated cold storage warehouse adjacent to plant. Renovations exceeded cost of $40,000. Floor space is 10,000 square feet. Contains three classrooms, kitchen, large common room used as indoor play area and lunchroom, two toilet areas, health room, and offices. Building leased for $12,000 a year plus utilities.	Children of employees and nonemployees, including those from families receiving public assistance.	2½-6 yrs.	60 children
Mr. Apparel, Inc., High Point, N.C.	460. (Total employees, 500.)	Nov. 1968	Separate building opposite plant. Renovated two old houses; glass enclosed on two sides and connected to large room; three large rooms, three bathrooms, kitchen, and office.	Children of employees and, if space permits, children of nonemployees. (Only one nonemployee child currently enrolled.)	2-6 yrs.	40 children
Skyland Textile Co., Morganton, N.C.	750 in three plants in Morganton. (About 200 have children eligible for participation.)	July 7, 1969	Separate building adjacent to plant. Floor space is 6,400 square feet. Eight classrooms (bathroom in each classroom), isolation room, kitchen and storage space. Construction cost $98,350.	Children and grandchildren of employees of the three plants in Morganton. Children of nonemployees eligible as of August 1970.	2-6 yrs.	118 children
Tioga Sportswear Div., Arnav Industries, Inc., Fall River, Mass.	135. (Total employees, 175.)	July 6, 1962	Rented church school building across from plant.	Children of employees.	3-5 yrs.	50 children
Tyson Foods, Inc., Springdale, Ark.	50 percent of work force. (Total employees, 2,200.)	May 18, 1970	Separate building between the two main plants. Square building with classroom portion in L-shape, surrounding kitchen, dispensary, and office. Three partitioned classrooms; floor space is 3,072 square feet. Fenced play yard is 100 by 74 feet. Construction cost about $36,000.	Children of employees.	2-6 yrs.	50 children (Plans are to increase capacity to 10 children.)
Vanderbilt Shirt Factory, Asheville, N.C.	306. (60 have children eligible for participation.) (Total employees, 340.)	Aug. 11, 1969	Attached to side of plant. Movable partitions divide one large room; fenced play yard is 80 by 65 feet. Construction cost $56,000.	Children of working mothers, with preference to children of Vanderbilt employees.	2-6 yrs. (Licensed to serve children 18 mos.-12 yrs.)	49 children
Winter Garden Freezing Co., Bells, Tenn.	About 60 percent of total employees at all plants. (No estimate on total number of employees due to seasonal nature of industry.)	Sept. 1967	Two former residences less than a quarter mile from plant. Separate nursery and kindergarten programs but plans are to combine them.	Preference to children of employees and, if space permits, children of nonemployees.	3-6 yrs.	50 children

* Since the preparation of this bulletin was begun, the Women's Bureau has learned of two additional companies which operate day care centers.
[1] Cooks and housekeeping staff, where specifically listed by company, are not enumerated on chart.
[2] Because of the relatively short operating spans of most programs and difficulties in determining costs, figures must be viewed as rough estimates rather than as de

Source: Day Care Services: Industry's Involvement, Women's Bureau

DAY CARE CENTERS*

Number enrolled	Days and hours of operation	Staff [1]	Fees	Estimated operating costs [2]	Company subsidies
46	5 days a week. 7:30 a.m.-6 p.m.	6 employees (2 codirectors, 4 teachers); volunteers from nearby colleges. Emphasis on career development of subprofessionals. State Department of Public Health provides social worker, nurse, pediatrician, and psychiatrist periodically.	$15 a week per child for first 2 children in family; $10 a week for third child. Fees are the same for children of employees and nonemployees.	$40-$50 a week per child.	Entire initial cost; 44 percent of operating cost, space, utilities, custodial services. (Use of company cafeteria reduces food expense to 90¢ a day per child, including breakfast, lunch, and snacks.)
40-45 (Approximately 100 children up to 1965, when school-age children were no longer accepted in order to reduce enrollment, as required for State licensing.)	5 days a week; occasionally 6 days. 7:30 a.m.-6:30 p.m.	4 employees, including 2 part-time workers.	No fees.	$1,500 total monthly operating cost.	Entire cost.
60	5 days a week. 6:45 a.m.-6:30 p.m.	Director, 5 teachers, 10 teachers' aides, administrative assistant. Community agencies provide public health nurse, pediatrician, and psychiatrist.	For employees' children fee is $10 a week per child. Balance of $27.50 is paid by company. Fee for children of nonemployees is $37.50 a week per child.	Total operating budget for fiscal year 1969 was $117,244. Principal source of funds was a Children's Bureau grant of $112,718. The Children's Bureau grant for fiscal year 1970 was $147,782.	20 percent of operating cost; services-in-kind estimated at $4,000.
36	5½ days a week. 7 a.m.-6:30 p.m.	4 employees, including a registered nurse who serves as director and 2 teachers.	$8 a week per child for employees' children; $16 a week for nonemployees' children.	Not available.	Entire initial cost of $15,000; estimated one-half of operating cost; general services.
84 (Fewer in summer months.)	5½ days a week. 6:30 a.m.-5 p.m.	10 employees, including a director and 7 teachers. Plans are to add another teacher.	For employees' children the weekly fees are $11.50 for 1 child; $18, 2 children; $24, 3 children. For nonemployees' children the fee is $14 a week per child.	$55,000 total operating cost a year. (Expect operating cost to be met through fees, with attainment of full capacity and modification of fees.	Entire initial cost of $114,895; estimated 35 percent of operating cost; secretarial and maintenance services. Subsidy for first year was $32,000.
30-40	5 days a week. 7:45 a.m.-4:30 p.m.	3 employees, including a former schoolteacher, and a consultant.	75¢ a day per child for hot lunch.	$18,000-$20,000 total annual operating cost.	Entire cost except daily hot lunch.
43	5 days a week; occasionally 5½ days. 7:30 a.m.-6:30 p.m.	6 employees (1 director, 1 teacher, 4 teachers' aides).	$1 a day per child. (Was increased to $1.50 a day per child in Sept. 1970.)	Not available.	Entire initial cost; 80 percent of operating cost. (With increase in fees to $1.50 a day per child, expect to meet one-half of operating cost.)
41 (Fewer in summer months.)	5 days a week. 7:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m.	5 employees, including a director and 3 teachers.	For employees' children the weekly fees are $13 for 1 child; $22, 2 children; $29, 3 children. For nonemployees' children the weekly fees are $17 for 1 child; $26, 2 children; $34, 3 children.	$17.50 a week per child.	Entire initial cost; difference between fees and operating cost; general services.
80	5 days a week. 7:45 a.m.-5:15 p.m.	4 employees plus teachers' aides in each program. Use "homeroom mothers" (usually mothers of children enrolled) on field trips.	Weekly fees are $10 for 1 child; $18, 2 children; $25, 3 children.	$750 a year per child.	Entire initial cost of $25,000; difference between fees and operating cost; food cost (company processes vegetables).

*Initive statements of [illegible]

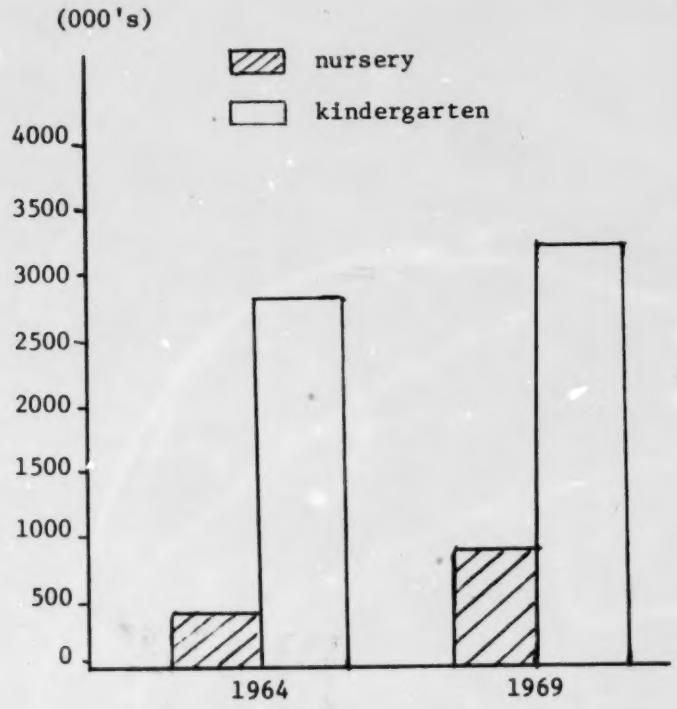

Fig. 1. Enrollment in all kindergartens and nursery programs

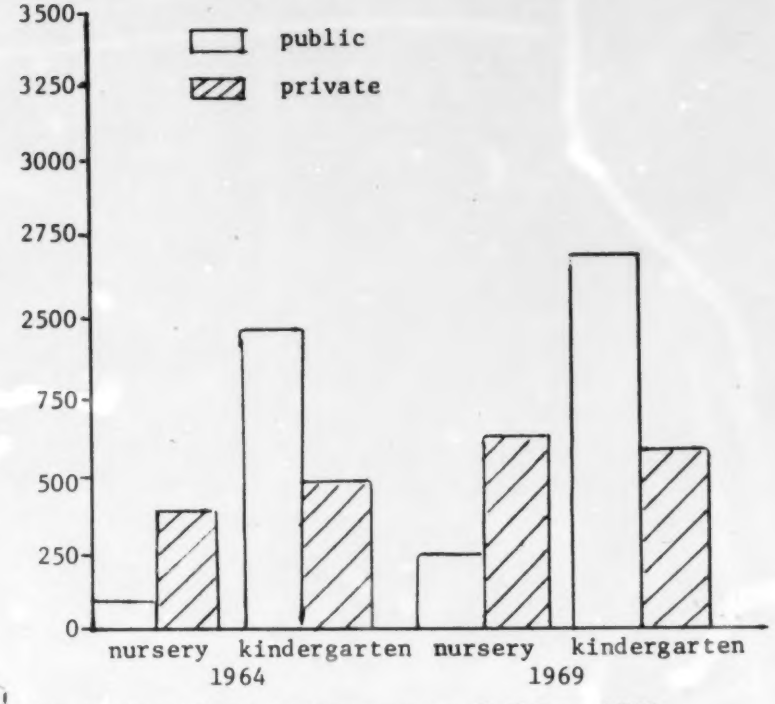

Fig. 2. Preschool enrollment by level of school and type of control

Source: Profiles of Children, White House Conference on Children 1970.